India

FOR THE

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Notes and News 185
The Overthrow of Local Self-Government 188
The *Scotsman's* Libel 189
"Forty-one Years in India" 190
Our London Letter 190
Chronicle of the Week 191
Letter to the Editor: "Confession is good for the soul" 192
Mr. W. A. Chambers in Yorkshire 193
Dr. Fairbairn's Visit to India... ... 194
India in the British Press: The Calcutta Municipal Bill 195
Et Caetera 195
Advertisements 196

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE papers received from India by the last mail are full of accounts of the release of Mr. Tilak. An unwise and unjust prosecution has evidently made a national hero of him. He was released late in the evening of September 6, and when the news spread in Poona that he had come home with his friend the Hon. Mr. Khare, there was great rejoicing among all classes of the people, who flocked to his house throughout the night to offer their congratulations. The day was held to be "auspicious." The people went with red powder on their foreheads, thereby paying almost divine honours to the martyr who had been sacrificed to panic. One enthusiast, Mr. Khasgiwala, is said to have kept the image of Ganapati from the time of Mr. Tilak's condemnation, and the image was thrown into the river on Mr. Tilak's release. In Poona town many temples and private houses were illuminated, crowds continued to pour into Mr. Tilak's house from surrounding villages on the day after his release, and the city telegraph office was busy receiving congratulations from all parts of India.

One also learns from the Indian papers that the number of those who visited Mr. Tilak to congratulate him at Poona is estimated at more than ten thousand. In Bombay there were festive illuminations, and religious *sankirtans* lasted till midnight. Mr. Tilak's portrait was strewn with garlands and "almost worshipped." Songs were composed for the occasion, and altogether the demonstration is said to have been unprecedented even for India, where the people are known for their joyousness and are fond of public displays.

Incidents like these may serve to show the almost inconceivable folly of adopting unjust and coercive measures in India. When wrong is done, as we believe wrong was done to Mr. Tilak, the people of India resent it by bestowing on the sufferer honours against which Draconian laws are powerless. Was it intended to humiliate Mr. Tilak by prosecuting him in a time of panic? He has not been humiliated, but honoured in a way in which, if Indian observers are right, no human being has been honoured before in India—be he Englishman or Indian—within this century. Was it intended to make India more loyal and submissive by means of the press prosecutions and the changes in the sedition laws? These prosecutions, we are assured, have produced a degree of bitterness among millions in India such as has not existed since the Mutiny. Coercion is no remedy in India; injustice is rank folly.

In the midst of demonstrations which would have turned many a man's head, Mr. Tilak remains loyal—as he has ever been. To many questions which were put to him after his release, he answered that he had no complaint to make about his treatment in prison, that the prison authorities did all they could for him, and that they showed him great consideration. His journal, the *Mahratta*, records his gratitude to those who interceded for him in the following terms:—

> There could be no key to the solution of such an involved position, except the good offices of an intervening friend, and they were happily available in the present instance by the philanthropic petition of Prof. Max Müller, Sir William Hunter, Sir Richard Garth, and other English gentlemen of eminence and respectability. It is difficult to adequately express the obligations which Mr. Tilak is under to these gentlemen for the sympathetic interest they took in his release; and Mr. Tilak has the satisfaction of seeing that it was ultimately by the triumph of English philanthropy and English sense of justice that he was released, though undoubtedly much later than expected.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, we see, gives what purports to be an account of negotiations that preceded Mr. Tilak's release:—

> Personal Assistant Brewin went to the Yerrowda gaol with the warrant of release. He saw Mr. Tilak and requested him to sign some conditions. The first was that Mr. Tilak should not join in any public meeting held on account of his release. Mr. Tilak agreed to this. The second condition was that if, after his release, Government found him guilty of writing or speaking [what?], they would at once put him into gaol without trial, for the period now remitted. Of course Mr. Tilak did not agree to this condition. We are told that Mr. Brewin entered into a hot discussion with him on his refusal. Indeed, he reminded Mr. Tilak that he was acting foolishly in throwing away the clemency that the Government was willing to show him, simply for the sake of a sentiment. . . . . Mr. Tilak again refused. So Mr. Khare, having carried out his instruction, reached the Poona station to return to Bombay. At the station, Mr. Brewin stopped him, and told him that the Government had agreed to change the terms of the second condition. So the next day, at 7 p.m., a new warrant was issued and Mr. Tilak released.

It is hard to believe that the Government of Bombay could have made an offer of release on the condition of Mr. Tilak's consenting to return to prison "without trial" if the Government again thought him seditious. But we suppose that anything is possible under the *régime* of Lord George Hamilton.

Now that Mr. Tilak has been released, we are glad to see that a renewed demand is being made in the Indian Press for the removal of the restrictions to which Sirdar Natu and his brother are still subject. The *Champion* writes:—

> We have said before, and we say it again, that this dog-in-the-manger policy so cruelly adopted towards the Sirdars is not at all creditable either to its sense of justice and fair play or to its reputation for straightforward statesmanship. The sooner therefore the third appeal which the elder Sirdar has now made is considered and the prayer therein made complied with, the better. It is superfluous to say a speedy release will not only restore public confidence in the good faith of the Government, but considerably enhance its shattered reputation. Let there be grace in the act ere the release before long is made altogether graceless.

The Poona correspondent of the *Times of India* describes "a very large gathering at the Council Hall," Poona, on September 10, "to witness the presentation of *sanads* to a number of Native gentlemen by the Hon. Mr. J. K. Spence, for services rendered in connexion with plague work in the city of Poona and elsewhere." Mr. Spence, in the course of his speech, referred to the titles which had been gained "for disagreeable duty performed principally in the city of Poona, at a time when many people objected to the measures adopted." He added, significantly enough:—

> Everyone knows that we have all had to learn some things, and that some of these measures are not now considered necessary.

Yes, the authorities in India have learned a lesson during the past twelve months. Unfortunately they have learned it at the grievous expense of the Indian people, and, what is more, the chief result of their panic-stricken ignorance of last year is the new law of sedition, which remains.

With another year of plague looming before it, the Bombay Government has wisely decided to make a great change in its methods. Segregation camps are to be abolished, and passes are to be no longer required for travelling, both being replaced by disinfection and medical examination. Persons coming from infected localities will be under surveillance for ten days, but they will be able to live in their own houses and follow their usual avoca-

tions. In the *Times*, the able writer on "Indian Affairs" applauds this change of front. He says:—

On the one hand, the idea of "stamping out the plague" by sudden and heroic measures has given place to the conviction that the disease is governed by its own physical laws, and that it will in all probability now run its natural course in Bombay as it has done wherever it once fairly established itself in time past. On the other hand, the political question has arisen as to the wisdom or even the justice of enforcing a rigour of prevention which the people consider worse than the plague itself, and which when pushed beyond certain limits they resist by arms. It is felt that while the safeguards demanded by the Venice Conference against the westward spread of the plague must be fairly complied with, they should be adapted to the circumstances of an Asiatic country, and should take into account the religious requirements and the domestic obligations which in India are stronger than the fear of death. There must be no playing to the European gallery, or posing as an example of the latest teaching of Western hygiene and preventive medical science. The stubborn fact has to be realised that India is in this as in other matters slowly and painfully struggling through early stages of progress which the more advanced nations of Europe have passed.

Referring to the segregation camps, the writer concludes thus:—

The impression left on the mind is that the plague administration in Bombay, with the best intentions, tried to do more for the safety of the public than it could, with the means at its disposal, humanely and effectively carry out. The Government of Bombay seems to have come to the same conclusion—that by attempting less it may possibly accomplish more.

This is a great victory for public opinion in India—a new example of the truth which it behoves all Anglo-Indians to learn, that the best laid schemes will fail if they are opposed to the feelings and habits of the people of the country. Even the new rules, though they are far better than the old, will become a source of ill-will and confusion if they are not carried out sympathetically and in accordance with the religious customs of the people, as the following case, reported in the *Pioneer*, too plainly shows:—

A plague case occurred in a Hindu priest's house and the disinfection was carried out by low-caste persons, whereat the priest committed suicide, previously announcing his intention by letter.

By heaping up debt, and with no small difficulty, the Indian Budget was made to balance. Even this degree of solvency was only attained by starving the Provincial Governments, and leaving them to cope with the plague expenditure as best they could. The finances of the Bombay Government are in a very bad state, and those of the cities are still worse. To provide for the expenses caused by the plague the municipality of Bombay attempted to float a 4 per cent. loan, but the tenders were so unsatisfactory that the loan has been abandoned. In Madras the expenditure for 1897-98 exceeded the revenue, and the balance in hand, which had stood at six lakhs, was reduced to three. As the *Pioneer* says:—

With extensive sanitary improvements urgently needed at Madras, and with plague steadily advancing towards the city, a rapidly decreasing balance in hand and an expenditure in excess of income are not pleasant features in municipal accounts.

And this is the country which needs no help from England to pay for wars beyond the frontier!

We print elsewhere a report of the speeches (so far as they related to India) which were delivered at the Holborn Restaurant on Tuesday on the occasion of Dr. Fairbairn's departure to India as Haskell lecturer. It is no small gain to India, and to England, that a man of Principal Fairbairn's calibre should go out on such a mission, and the high expectations which are everywhere entertained of the results he is likely to achieve will be increased by the wise words of his speech on Tuesday. He pointed out that the people of India have in their midst "two great representatives of the Christian religion. They had the representatives of the English power—the civil servant and the soldier. It was very difficult for the religion of peace to be carried out by a people of dominion. It was a very difficult thing for the people who were ruled to receive the religion of the rulers as a religion of peace, of simplicity, of humility. They regarded that religion as bound up with the Empire, its armies and magistrates, and Christianity would have had a far better chance in India if it had come in its own right to speak in its own name in absolute dissociation from the Imperial power. . . . . There was nothing England needed so much as to know the peoples she governed. They would never know the Indian problem until they knew the Indian mind, and therefore to interpret India to England was even a greater necessity than to interpret England to India." That, we think, is almost the ideal temper in which to start upon a journey to India.

To some enthusiastic admirers of British rule in India the very existence of Native States is an eyesore, nor are they easily tired of contrasting the good order and enlightened progress of the Queen's dominions with the slovenly and benighted government of the Indian princes. This is not the view of the *Pioneer*, which with great candour speaks as follows:—

It has been well said that the Native States of India often act as a salutary drag on legislation in British India, when the pace of the administrative coach is getting too fast and the leaders are getting a little out of hand. It might have been added that the Native States sometimes give an example to British India of the direction and form which legislation should take. This appears to be peculiarly the case in respect of enactments relating to the landed classes, whose interests the Government of India have for a long time past been trying to protect and preserve without giving cause of offence to the bunniah and the money-lender.

That the Native States can in this matter set us an example is due to their governments being at once more in sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of the people, and less bound by the pedantry of European lawyers.

No man is better able to express an opinion upon mill industry in India than Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata, the enlightened and liberal-minded "merchant prince of Bombay." In an interview reported in the October issue of *British-Indian Commerce*, he suggests that Lancashire capitalists would do well to start mills, not in China, but in Bombay, where they could count upon good workmen and fair profits.

By coming to India with their capital (Mr. Tata says) English people will be serving a dual purpose. They will make money and will be helping the Government. It is a deplorable fact that India is essentially an agricultural country, and that she can never prosper to any great extent unless her manufactures receive an impetus. With more mills started this will be achieved, and a great number of agriculturists will be attracted to the towns as operatives in these mills. Here is something for Lancashire to do for the good of the Empire and their own benefit, instead of putting English money into a foreign country like China.

Mr. Tata would not grudge the profits which Lancashire mill-owners might earn in Bombay.

Another thing is (he said) that in cases of conflict of interests between India and Lancashire we always go to the wall, as we have no influence with which to fight the Government, whereas Lancashire people established here can always be depended upon to bully the Secretary of State, or by other powerful influences gain their own ends, so that if we had Lancashire mills here their interests would be bound up with ours.

Who will deny the force of the argument? But it is not creditable to British rule in India that such an argument should be possible.

As for the notion that mill industry in India does not pay, Mr. Tata referred the interviewer to his own experience in the case of the Nagpur mills and the Coorla mills, which yield a handsome profit. It is the old story:—

"And the secret of your success—if it is not asking you to tell too much?"

"Good management, as opposed to bad management."

"But what, in your opinion, constitutes bad management?"

"Extravagance and ignorance. Then that bugbear of the industry—the agency commission."

There is some difficulty about the *employés*, but this, it seems, is by way of being removed:—

As you know, the local operatives are not all that could be desired; the Maratha will not become permanent. As soon as he has acquired a little money he runs away to his village across the harbour, buys a field, and when he runs up his full credit with the village *soukar* returns to the mill having forgotten, or very nearly so, all he learnt. It is seldom they stay for as long as two years at a mill. The Mill Owners' Association are endeavouring to get up-country Mahometans, of the weaver caste, to colonise in Bombay. They are excellent workmen, and if the efforts are successful the era of fine counts is not far off.

It is by manufacturing fine counts (from Egyptian cotton) that Bombay threatens to retaliate if Lancashire capitalists start low-count mills in China. "By helping us," Mr. Tata declares, "Lancashire helps herself, the country, and the Empire; by helping China she cuts her own throat, for our only resource will be to manufacture the finer counts, and Lancashire will find that in a little while we shall be able to do it uncommonly well."

The *Hindi Punch*, which for a comic journal in India reaches a level of unusual excellence, has some capital cartoons in its issue of September 11. The announcement that the revenue of the Bombay Government suffered a loss of 12,05,000 rupees through the recent famine suggests a picture of a "civic father" asking Lord Sand-

hurst for a piece of pudding, inscribed "revenue." "I am starving, sir," says the civic father, "can't you spare me a morsel, just a little bit, out of this pudding?" "Can't for the present," Lord Sandhurst replies, "there are others who perforce have taken away good slices, and I must be sparing in its use." Another drawing, "Many Happy Returns of the Day," shows Punch offering Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, "the Grand Old Man of India," India's "blessings and congratulations" on his 74th birthday (September 4). Mr Naoroji, wearing a magnificent garland, is the central figure. A portrait of the Queen hangs on the wall, and the artist shows us a heap of Blue-books, one of which is entitled "Simultaneous Examinations," and another "Welby Commission Report"—the latter being, let us hope, prophetic. Of course there is more than one cartoon of Prince Ranjitsinhji, and, equally of course, he appears as "the bat of the cricket season."

The great meeting recently held in Calcutta to protest against the Calcutta Municipality Bill has submitted a cogent memorial, upon which we comment elsewhere, to the Lieutenant-Governor. The memorialists urge that the Bill if passed into law will deal a severe blow at local self-government in the capital of the Indian Empire. Framed on the principles of the Bombay Act, the Bill goes much further, and proposes to transfer control from the Hindus and Mahometans, who pay 65 per cent. of the consolidated rate, to the European and Eurasian communities, who pay only 18 per cent.

"Look at the absurdity of the whole thing," says the *Champion*. "Those who contribute least are made masters of the situation in order that they may keep enslaved the majority who contribute the largest amount to the municipal funds! Was ever such an injustice perpetrated elsewhere by a Government which purports to rule an alien people on the principles of justice and fair play inculcated by its Christianity. Is it not another instance of sheer might over-ruling right? Who lays the seeds of discontent and disaffection in this respect?" The last question is significant. No one who knows the people of India will deny that the new Municipal Bill for Calcutta, overthrowing as it does the machinery of self-government, threatens materially to shake the confidence of the people in British fairness, and therefore to weaken our hold on India.

The memorial goes on to show that in Bombay the Corporation has the right of returning two-thirds of the members of the Standing Committee, while in Calcutta the Bill proposes to give the Corporation the right of returning only one-third of the Committee. In other words the Corporation of Bombay is strongly represented on the Committee which wields the executive power, while in Calcutta the Corporation will be feebly represented on the executive body, which will thus enjoy the privilege of spending the ratepayers' money against the wishes of their representatives. Moreover, the Calcutta Corporation is not allowed by the Bill to fix the Budget Estimates. The irresponsible executive body may record its protest and refer to the Government for final decision. The Corporation is not to appoint the engineer, the health officer, the tax collector, or the assessor. It is not to make bye-laws regulating the supply of water to buildings. It is not to make bye-laws regulating the construction of drains and the sanitary arrangements of markets and *bastis*. All these powers are given to the Standing Committee. Clearly it would be more honest to abolish the Calcutta Corporation outright.

As if to irritate the people of Calcutta beyond endurance it is further proposed to enact that, without the special permission of the Chairman, no dead body shall be buried or burnt at night. Hindus and Mahometans must keep their dead lying in their houses all night unless they care to wake the Chairman. Could anything more foolish or more mischievous be conceived? Yet when such laws are passed in the teeth of almost universal opposition, people in England express innocent wonder that there is discontent in India. The memorial concludes with the reasonable request that "the consideration of the Bill may be postponed till a representative mixed commission appointed by your Honour has enquired into the municipal administration of Calcutta and has made its report thereon." If the Government thinks that municipal administration in Calcutta has been a failure, why does it hesitate to appoint such a commission? If, on the other hand, municipal administration has been successful in making Calcutta a healthier and better town during the last twenty-two years, why ruin that organisation and insult the elected Commissioners who have given their time and energies to the public service?

At the time of the closing of the mints in 1893, Sir David Barbour gave his reasons for believing that that measure would give rise to little or no coining of false money. The experience of the succeeding three years seemed to verify his forecast; but matters have now assumed a very different aspect. According to the *Pioneer*, the average net import of silver for those three years was twenty-six million ounces; in 1897-98 it rose to over forty-four million ounces, and this in a year of famine. Moreover, there was at the same time a notable increase in the number of rupees in circulation, which professed to be of the years 1840 and 1862. A Hindu financier has offered an explanation of these phenomena in a letter to the *Times*. He says:—

> Illicit coining is now going on in India, especially in the Native States, on an enormous scale. . . . It has in fact been the illicit coinage of late years which has saved the trade of India from strangulation since the mints were closed. How is it that loans for short periods are often given in the bazaars at several points below bank rates? Such loans are the channels for letting loose the rupees from secret mints. . . . I am told that there are lakhs of rupees in circulation coined by stamping machines brought from Vienna, which defy detection even by the masters of the mints.

Another distinguished and capable Sikh chief, Rájá Bikram Sinh of Faridcote, has passed away. The Sikh community, as a correspondent of the *Tribune* says, have received a severe blow in the death of this patriotic chief. The pillar and support of the Khalsa people, he was known as *Khurshed Khalsa*, the Sun of the Khalsa. He brought together eminent Sikh scholars to expound the "Adi Granth," the religious book of the Sikhs, and had it translated into easy Punjabi. He is said to have taken an active part in the discussion of difficult passages in the holy book, and spared no pains to make the translation a standard work. The translation of the old religious books into the modern languages of India—in the Punjab, the North-West, Bombay, Bengal, and Madras—is a hopeful sign. Rájá Bikram Sinh's successor, Rájá Balbir Sinh, was educated at the Mayo College, Ajmere, and is said to be a youth of much promise.

We regret to hear of the death of Sardar Dayal Singh, an influential and enlightened Sikh chief of the Punjab. He was the proprietor of the *Tribune* newspaper, an enthusiastic supporter of the Congress movement, and a zealous promoter of his country's progress. Coming so soon after the sad loss of Dr. Bahadurji at Bombay, the death of Sardar Dayal Singh is deeply felt in India. Bengal laments the death of Mr. Mohini Mohan Roy, one of the ablest pleaders of the High Court, sometime member of the Viceroy's Council. It grieves us also to add that only three days after his arrival at Calcutta Mr. A. M. Bose had to mourn the loss of his elder brother, a respected member of the judicial service.

An Indian correspondent writes: "Prince Ranjitsinhji's visit to Poona has been the occasion of great rejoicings. He was welcomed at the railway station on August 28 by Dr. Bhandarkar and the *élite* of the Poona community, and received an address from the Deccan College students on September 1. The Prince gracefully acknowledged the address, and said he thanked Englishmen for two things: 'First for having given English as the common language of Indians, and secondly for having introduced sport in India.' On September 4 a public address was presented to him by the residents of Poona, the Hon. Sir Charles Ollivant, the Hon. Mr. James, and other distinguished officials being present on the occasion. The Prince again made an admirable reply, in the course of which he said: 'I used to think before I came to India that cricket was the national game of England; but I see all round me, in almost every town that I have visited, that cricket has become popular. We cannot call it the national game, but the nationalised game of India.'"

THE OVERTHROW OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

We have now received from our Calcutta correspondent the full text of the memorial adopted at the great public meeting in the Town Hall on August 31, with reference to the Calcutta Municipality Bill, for submission to Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The memorial is a long document, strongly reasoned, and indeed argumentatively irresistible. It concludes with this prayer:—

> That the Bill may be withdrawn, or so modified as to make it a really useful measure, by removing the inconveniences attendant upon the working of the present law, and confirming and enlarging its principle by associating the representatives of the people in all necessary measures of sanitary and municipal reform, or that at any rate the consideration of the Bill may be postponed till a representative mixed Commission appointed by your Honour has enquired into the municipal administration of Calcutta and has made its report thereon.

The Bill, we take it, will certainly not be withdrawn. And yet, in any country where the voice of the people can make itself heard, such a Bill could not live a day. Recently, it will be remembered, Lord Salisbury threatened the London County Council, and Lord Onslow, who draws a salary from India, put his strength—such as it is—into the iniquitous agitation. But the whole mischievous plan tumbled down, like a castle of cards, at the first breath of serious public opinion. The survival of this obnoxious Calcutta Bill, after the demonstration of Calcutta opposition, goes to confirm the opinion that the Government does not care a straw for what the people wish or do not wish, but is determined to rule as it likes, whatever the people may say, think, or do. The same spirit has shown itself elsewhere, as at Poona and Bombay; and the answering spirit has already made itself evident. But if it be granted that it is too much for the *amour propre* of the Government to withdraw the Bill, surely it is most reasonable to propose either of the alternatives expressed in the prayer of the memorial. If, as is the fact, the existing system has worked well in the main, clearly the right thing to do is to confirm and enlarge the principle on which it is based, and at the same time to reform the particular points in which it has not worked quite satisfactorily. But this is exactly what the new Bill does not do; and the language of its sponsors does not even decently veil their contempt for such reasonable procedure. In any case, before the tabling of such a Bill at all, one would have expected an enquiry, after the example of 1885; much more potent is the argument for an enquiry before carrying the Bill through. The testimony in favour of the municipality is cumulative and strong through a long series of years; there is not any formal complaint from any section of the community as to the administration; the very fears that gave rise to this ill-omened measure have actually been falsified; and yet, in spite of the popular protest, the Government dares to uproot the Calcutta local self-government of half a century, and to strike a deadly blow at self-government throughout India.

The Bill is an enormous aggregate of a thousand clauses, which, however, it is unnecessary, even if it were possible, now to examine in detail. The main point is that it establishes three authorities—the Chairman, the General Committee, and the Corporation—co-ordinate, independent, and irresponsible; and, while the outward semblance of self-government is preserved, the reality is effectively destroyed. How this team of three independent powers is to drive in unison can only be matter of speculation. But the experience of the United States in similar cases, as well as the general experience of human affairs, gives no glimpse of hopeful results. It does seem a wanton daring of the future to upset a familiar and successful system in order to repeat pronounced failures. The most important of the three authorities is the Chairman. At present he is responsible to the Corporation. Under the new Act, he will be independent. In Bombay, whose Municipal Act is the ostensible basis of this retrograde Bill, the Chairman has no vote at the Corporation meetings or in the Standing Committee. But under the Calcutta Bill the Chairman is to have in several important matters more authority than the Bombay Municipal Commissioner, and he is to be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Corporation and of the General Committee. So vast and varied are the powers concentrated in his hands that the bulk of his work must be delegated to subordinates, who will be free from check or control as now exercised by the Corporation. Small wonder if the memorialists are filled with "alarm and anxiety" when they think of the ratepayers "at the mercy of municipal underlings."

The Corporation will be constituted just as it is constituted now. Two-thirds of the members will be elected by the ratepayers as heretofore. The appearance of self-government is preserved undiminished. The Bombay system of half elective, half nominated members, is not followed—just to save appearances. But the kernel of the Corporation's powers has been taken away, and transferred to the Executive Committee, their remaining power being merely nominal. "To the Corporation," says the Statement of Objects and Reasons, "are reserved the right of fixing the rates of taxation and all those general functions which can be efficiently performed by a large body." But, as the memorial points out, such "general functions," as assigned by the Bill, "are of the most limited character—there is, indeed, a wholesale transfer of power from the Corporation to the Executive and the General Committee," so much so that "Your memorialists but re-echo the public feeling when they say that it would have been a far more straightforward course if the Corporation had altogether been abolished and the administration of the city placed under the direct control of the Government." Where is the power of a Corporation that lacks financial control, that is not entrusted with the appointment of its engineer, or its health officer, or its collector, or its assessor, or any other officer with a salary of Rs. 300 a month and upwards, and that cannot even make bye-laws for the supply of water or for the construction of drains? It is the dead shell of a Corporation. The spirit has been transferred to the General Committee. Now mark the constitution of this Committee. It consists of twelve members—not eighteen, as now; and two-thirds of the twelve are to be elected by the nominated commissioners (one-third, that is, of the Corporation), while only one-third are to be elected by the commissioners representing the ratepayers (two-thirds of the Corporation). For all the apparent predominance of the community in the Corporation, their essential power is reduced to four members as against eight in the really effective part of the municipal machine; in other words, it is reduced to an empty formality. Even in Bombay the ratepayers hold two-thirds of the Standing Committee, although they elect only one-half the Corporation. The Statement of Objects and Reasons on this head is a signal example of political jesuitry:—

> Section 8 reduces the number of the General Committee from 18 to 12 members, and provides for the appointment of these from among the general body of Commissioners in equal proportions by (*a*) the elected Commissioners voting in four electoral divisions, (*b*) the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades' Association, and the Port Commissioners, and (*c*) the Government. It is based on the principle of giving adequate representation on the governing body of the municipality to the three chief interests in Calcutta—to the European commercial community, which has made the city a centre of trade; to the Government, which has made it the capital of the Indian Empire, and is responsible to the world at large for its sufficient and progressive municipal administration; and lastly to the residents, householders, and ground landlords who have been attracted to Calcutta by its creation and maintenance as a commercial capital.

What would a home city—say Manchester or Glasgow—think if such reasoning as this were submitted to it officially as an explanation and justification for overturning the established system of self-government? Imagine the astonishment of Manchester at the calm insolence of treating the mass of the citizens as an incidental detail, the mere outcome of the local commercial activity! Imagine their amazement at the cool assertion of "equal proportions"! Really we had supposed that "interests" in self-government were properly represented by the individual votes, not by the votes of narrow cliques. The tall talk about the responsibility of the Government is rather ludicrous in face of the recorded official history of the Calcutta Municipality. But the biggest stroke of the memorial is the tabulated statement of comparative "interests." The result is this:—

	Assessable Property.			Consolidated Rate.		
Hindus	Own	60·4	per cent.	Pay	59·5	per cent.
Europeans and Eurasians	,,	12 6	,,	,,	18·3	,,
Mahometans	,,	6·8	,,	,,	5·7	,,
Jews and Armenians ..	,,	4·3	,,	,,	3·2	,,
Other Nationalities ..	,,	0·5	,,	,,	0·5	,,
Government, Corporation and Port Commissioners	,,	15·2	,,	,,	12·5	,,

Obviously, whether the basis be permanence of interest, or population, or financial stake, the ratepayers are entitled to distinct predominance on the governing body of the Corporation—the General Committee. Yet they stand only four to eight! And the majority will no longer be responsible to the Corporation.

We put it earnestly to our journalistic contemporaries at home—especially to such as have fought a strenuous battle for popular rights—whether they will not acknowledge the claim of Calcutta to a share of their practical sympathy. The insane progress of repression in India can be stemmed only at home. And there is a homely proverb about prevention being better than cure.

THE "SCOTSMAN'S" LIBEL.

AMONG modern institutions not one has grown more rapidly in power than the newspaper Press. In direct effect upon the government of the country it is no doubt true that no journal has now the influence wielded fifty years ago by the *Times*, when the franchise was almost exclusively in the hands of the class which that paper represented. But in its more general functions the power of the Press has vastly increased. It has taken the place held in former centuries by the pulpit and the pamphlet. It has become more than ever the chief arena of discussion, and the one channel of information on passing events; the one means by which the dark places of the earth can be made light, the distant brought near, and the true winnowed from the false. These are great powers which, as in every other case, must have their corresponding duties. This monopoly of publicity brings with it the obligation of a readiness to correct errors and acknowledge mistakes, as all the leading newspapers are prepared to admit. Yet with regard to India many of them have shown a spirit very little in accordance with these principles. India is peculiarly dependent on the just treatment of the English Press, for that Press is the sole channel by which the greater part of the English people are informed of the happiness or misery, the wrongs or the misfortunes of the country of which they have assumed the rule. Yet there are few subjects on which the Press has laid itself open to more serious complaint. The suppression of news by correspondents in India has long been a source of wrong to Indians. Now we find the *Scotsman*, a paper hitherto of high reputation, going a step further, and publishing grave misstatements to which it has so far refused to admit a reply.

We make no apology for returning again to the case of Gurdial Singh and the *Scotsman's* comments thereon; for the wrong done thereby to the Indians of the Covenanted Civil Service, and through them to the people of India, still remains unredressed. It will be remembered that the London correspondent of that journal, in speaking of the conviction of Gurdial Singh for corruption, made a general attack on the Indian members of the Civil Service. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, for twenty-five years a member—a most distinguished member—of that Service, wrote on September 22 a temperate reply, controverting several misstatements of fact which had appeared in the *Scotsman*. But so far the editor has thought it consistent with his duty to withhold the reply from his readers. It is true that some time elapsed between the appearance of the misstatements in question and the writing of Mr. Dutt's letter, but that delay is amply justified by the indecent haste with which the *Scotsman's* correspondent commented on the case before the judgment was known for a certainty in this country; and it certainly can be no ground for refusing to insert a correction of the gross misstatements of which it had made itself the organ.

This was the position taken up by the *Scotsman's* correspondent:—

(1) Gurdial Singh was a Babu and a member of the Covenanted Civil Service;

(2) There had been many such cases against Indian members of that Service; and

(3) Therefore the number of Indians appointed to that Service should be reduced, and some of the higher posts should be withheld from them.

Thus from the statements conveyed in (1) and (2), consequences were drawn of the most serious character for the people of India and the Indian members of the Covenanted, or as it is now called, the Imperial Civil Service. Now it will scarcely be believed that the statements in the first proposition are entirely erroneous; that for the second only evidence of the vaguest kind is produced, while there exists plenty of testimony to the contrary; and that it is on this false and flimsy foundation that a superstructure is raised which is insulting to the people of India, and which, if it were made the basis of a policy, would threaten to deprive them of the small share in the government of their country which they now possess. Gurdial Singh was neither a Babu nor a member of the Covenanted Civil Service; and yet a newspaper holding a high and honourable position puts forward this misstatement, draws from it inferences derogatory to the Indian members of that Service, and then refuses to acknowledge its error when the error is pointed out.

The *Scotsman's* correspondent proceeds to call for a black list of Indian civilians who have been degraded or transferred, and then attempts to support his case by two vague charges impossible to identify, and a third to which the subsequent career of the accused and the honours conferred on him by the Government are a sufficient answer; and on this tissue of indefinite charges and undoubted errors, with the help of an unsupported statement that the Indians mistrust officials of their own race, he founds a proposal that the already small number of Indian civilians should be limited still further, and that "no district of India should ever be entrusted to the executive and magisterial control of a Native." Yet when such tremendous consequences are drawn from these premises, the *Scotsman* refuses to insert a letter pointing out the gross misstatements of fact on which the whole rests. From the erroneous supposition that Gurdial Singh was a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, conclusions are drawn adverse to all Indian civilians, and when the supposition is shown to be without foundation, this great newspaper declines to let its readers know of the error. Could a more shamelessly dishonourable course be imagined?

Let us see how the case would stand without this gross error of fact. Gurdial Singh, a single member of an inferior branch of the Service, has been found guilty of corruption; therefore let us limit the numbers and stay the promotion of all the Indian members of the higher branch of the Service; and let us have a black list—not of all the members who have been degraded or transferred, but of the Indians who have been so dealt with; and let us thus impress the people of India at once with our fairness and our logic. Had Gurdial Singh really been in the Covenanted Civil Service, it would seem a monstrous injustice to make his single case the condemnation of all the Indians therein; as he was not a member of that Service, the injustice of the proposal is almost hidden by its absurdity.

And had an attack ever a more malign intention? By struggling with extraordinary difficulties some Indians have managed to enter the ranks of the Covenanted Civil Service. They have had to compete in a foreign language and to travel thousands of miles. Years ago, when first the Crown assumed the government of India, John Bright declared his belief that could one Indian, even one, pass the examination, it would be impossible to refuse to hold examinations in India. But in spite of this, in spite even of a resolution of the House of Commons, the Indian candidates have still to come to England. Some have been found able to overcome all obstacles. They have now but a small fraction of the posts held by the Covenanted Civil Service. But this is too much for the writer in the *Scotsman*, who is plainly eager to use the delinquencies of a man who was never a member of that Service to reduce still further the small proportion that has been attained under so many difficulties.

There are not wanting reasons for desiring an increase rather than a decrease in the number of posts held by Indians. Honour requires that the promises made in 1858 in the Queen's Proclamation should be kept. The material prosperity of the country is imperilled by the drain of wealth to England, which the employment of Indians would do so much to staunch. The growth of a class of educated Indians, the direct product of our rule, has provided aspirants in plenty. There are forces making for the increased participation of Indians in the government of India which all the misstatements in the *Scotsman* cannot check—misstatements which must become wilful falsehoods if they are persisted in despite correction. It

is possible that the writer thought he was strengthening the British Empire in India. That Empire rests above everything on the confidence which Indians still feel in the justice and fairness of the people of this country, and nothing could shake that confidence more than to find Englishmen or Scotchmen ready to oust the Indians from even the small share they now have in the government of their country by such dastardly and ignoble arts.

"FORTY-ONE YEARS IN INDIA."[1]

LORD ROBERTS'S autobiography seems destined to pass through as many editions as its author has passed years in India. The interesting table printed on the back of the title-page of the new one-volume issue contains a list of thirty editions from January, 1897, to the present date, besides an edition in Braille type for the blind. In its new ten-shilling form it is a stout volume of 600 pages, printed in small but clear type. The maps and illustrations of the original edition are given, but it must be confessed that the photogravure portraits of Nicholson and Outram have lost a good deal of their impressiveness through being reproduced by cheaper processes.

The success of the book is not to be wondered at. Lord Roberts calls it "a plain unvarnished tale of Indian life and adventure," and asks his readers to forgive its faults of style because the writer is a soldier and not a man of letters. It is a graceful apology, but it is not needed. To be a man of action is itself one of the best qualifications for a man of letters. It has been said that Thucydides and Xenophon were all the better historians—yes, and Æschylus and Sophocles all the better dramatists—for being soldiers too. Certainly it would be hard for the mere literary man to write a book so full of living human interest as this. Lord Roberts has two of the highest virtues of style, transparent clearness and transparent sincerity, and any writer who has these can afford to be careless about minor qualities. But above all he has a subject which any man of letters might envy—not the "one crowded hour of glorious life" which the poet coveted, but forty-one years of it. One other charm of the book must be mentioned: the spirit of kindliness that pervades it. The pleasant acknowledgment in the final sentence—"from almost everyone with whom I had been associated, whether European or Native, civilian or soldier, I had experienced unfailing kindness, sympathy and support"—is typical of the tone throughout. Not an ill-natured word is spoken of anybody; but there are the warmest tributes of admiration to the great men with whom Roberts was associated in his youth, and the fullest expressions of gratitude to his Native orderlies for their loyal devotion. On the other hand, it would be difficult to find an autobiography of a man who "bears his blushing honours thick about him" so free from all taint of personal vanity.

Lord Roberts went out to India in 1852. He had therefore seen five years' service when the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857. He tells again the often repeated tale: few have told it so thrillingly. History once written does not erase itself; and to obliterate it would be to forget its warnings. We think Lord Roberts is right in opposing the view that all memories of 1857 should be swept away. As he says, the relics of that tremendous struggle are "memorials of heroic services performed by her Majesty's soldiers, Native as well as British"; and, "above all, they stand as warnings that we should never do anything that can possibly be interpreted by the Natives into disregard for their various forms of religion." When the Mutiny broke out, Roberts was at Peshawar, where "fortunately for India there were good men and true," Edwardes, Nicholson, and Neville Chamberlain. They decided to organise a movable column, prepared to move in any direction where its services might be required. Chamberlain was to command it, and he made Roberts his staff officer. Afterwards Roberts left the movable column to join the besieging force at Delhi. His graphic account of the siege and capture of that city is followed by the still more stirring story of the relief of Lucknow. At the close of his narrative of the Mutiny, Lord Roberts devotes two chapters to the consideration of its causes and its lessons. Some of those lessons, he points out, are in danger of being forgotten. "The Government has become more and more centralised, and the departmental spirit very strong." The special danger of this over-centralisation and multiplication of departments in India lies in the very different interests, customs, and religions of different parts of the country: these things can only be studied and appreciated on the spot, and as much responsibility as possible ought to be left to the local authorities. Prince Henry of Orleans, who finds the superiority of the English to the French as colonial administrators in the comparative freedom of the former from bureaucratic methods, must be delighted to learn that the English are throwing away their advantage. There can be no doubt that the danger is a very real one. Another point emphasised by Lord Roberts is the advisability of suppressing seditious literature. There, in the abstract, we all agree with him; but he does not touch the practical difficulties of legislation on this subject. It is not, however, to a military man that one must look for a full appreciation of the right of free speech, or full recognition of the important truth that criticism of the conduct of particular officials is a very different thing from disloyalty. On another point it is pleasant to find Lord Roberts in agreement with Sir W. Wedderburn and others who have written in INDIA on the desirability of saving the poorer peasant proprietors from the clutches of the usurer, and establishing an agency under the control of Government for loans at a moderate rate of interest on a reasonable security.

The chief subject of the second half of Lord Roberts's book is the Afghan War of 1878-1880. We have here a stirring narrative of events, and a masterly account of several difficult campaigns that is full of instruction for the student of military history. But Lord Roberts does not disguise the fact that he has a further object in writing—to win the approval of his fellow countrymen for a "forward" policy on (and beyond) the Indian frontier. Lord Roberts's views on this subject were so fully discussed in our columns on the occasion of his famous speech in the House of Lords early in the present year, that there is no need to discuss them further now; but we may refer our readers to the article in INDIA for July, 1897, in which Mr. Dacosta brought into effective contrast the position taken up in the book, and the despatch which Lord Roberts himself sent from Kabul on May 29, 1880. The reader of "Forty-one years in India" will find no conclusive argument for "shortening one mile of Russia's road" to India, or simplifying "the web of difficulties" she would have to pass by going out across the mountains to meet her.

Finally, one of the pleasantest chapters of the book should not be passed over in silence. This is the chapter that tells of three great movements for the amelioration of the British army in India with which Lord Roberts has been associated. The first is the institution of the Nursing Fund called by Lady Roberts's name; the second is the supersession of the old "canteen" with its demoralising influences by the Regimental Institute; and the third is the establishment of the highly successful Army Temperance Association. That a commander-in-chief should interest himself actively in such works is of happy augury for the physical and moral well-being of the army.

[1] "Forty-One Years in India": From Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief. By Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar. New edition in one volume. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

I WROTE last week about the terrible series of tragedies and humiliations which go to make up what is called "the situation" in China. Day after day since then, the news which has struggled through from that mysterious part of the world has made it clearer than ever that Great Britain is down in the dust, and that Russia is triumphing over her. I am by no means one of those who worship "prestige." Indeed I know well enough that in India and in many another part of the world "prestige" has been made the cloak of a multitude of sins. But if there is one place and one set of circumstances in which it is desirable for us to "show a stiff top lip," as the expression goes, it is in China when face to face with Russia. Yet Lord Salisbury, the "strong" minister at the head of the party which claims to make a spirited foreign policy its speciality, has truckled to Russia with such cringing

humility that the Chinese despise us. Ever since Lord Salisbury "scuttled" from Port Arthur at the command of Russia, that astute man Li Hung Chang, and his equally astute ally the infamous Empress-Dowager, have seen that the game is to back Russia and to flout this country—and they have played that game with a vengeance.

No one knows, and few ever will know, all the infamies which have been perpetrated in China during the past few weeks. But the general effect is known, and it is that all who have declared their friendship for England, or who have even been suspected of such a feeling, have had to flee or have been murdered. Grim little messages have followed each other to the effect that "all those supposed to have reforming sympathies are being executed in secret." Again, all the secretaries to public men who speak English have been seized and imprisoned, and that means death as a rule. That is the point things have reached—the mere sympathy with reform, or the ability to speak English, is looked upon as a capital crime. And perhaps the most striking incident is the swift and horrible fate which has overtaken the late Emperor. He has "committed suicide," we are told, which is the Chinese official euphemism for "has been murdered," and the report is that he was done to death with all the nameless atrocities which accompanied the death of Edward II. in Berkeley Castle. This is the fate which has overtaken all who were foolish enough to give their faith to England under Lord Salisbury, and though now and then a feeble paragraph appears in the London letter of a Tory provincial paper stating that "something vigorous is going to be done," our humiliation goes on daily and hourly. That, at any rate, is the feeling of many of us.

I said something a week or two ago about the indecent rejoicing indulged in in some quarters over the number of Dervishes killed at Omdurman. I think I made it clear then that I looked on the business as a grim necessity, a case in which it was impossible to give quarter, and in which it was a matter of kill or be killed. The indecency of which I complained then has been far exceeded since. There is a certain Major Gordon, a nephew of the late General Gordon of Khartum fame, who has been distinguishing himself by despoiling the tomb of the late Mahdi, and he is reported to have taken the skull of the false prophet as a pleasant little "memento." Other officers have actually snipped off some of the fingers and toe-nails to keep as curiosities! I do hope for the sake of our national reputation that these reports will turn out to be unfounded, for if they are true it is impossible to conceive anything more ghoulish and detestable.

Interest is beginning to centre in the forthcoming movements of the German Emperor. In a few days that irrepressible monarch will have started, like a modern crusader, for the Holy Land. No one knows exactly what his object is, and it is quite possible that the Kaiser has no very clear notion himself. He has more than once been described as the "Tourist Emperor," and he is acting up to the title. An enormous number of press representatives will follow his Majesty. There will be a special encampment of them, and curiously enough, the whole expedition—monarch, suite, and journalists—will be personally conducted by the ubiquitous Cook and Son. There was a time when this firm was derided, and those who sought its assistance in travelling were made the butt of comic papers. But time has changed all that, and Messrs. Cook have personally conducted a British army abroad, and are now "running" an Emperor. I heard a man say the other night that he believed the firm would be equal to conducting the next European war, and undertake to bring the two sides face to face at any given spot on a date agreed upon, and then they could fight it out.

The French have been very cleverly playing the game I predicted they would play with regard to Fashoda. They are calling out for a Conference to settle the dispute, knowing full well that if once a Conference is agreed upon they have only to insist and to fluster in order to get some concessions out of Lord Salisbury. I do not think the French care two straws about Fashoda itself, but by yielding that which they don't want, and to which, as many think, they have no right, they may perhaps pick up something they do want. It is a game which they and others have played more than once with Lord Salisbury, to their own advantage.

Meantime the eternal Cretan question is with us, and is apparently as far off settlement as ever. Day by day we hear of the stern measures which the Admirals are just about to take with the recalcitrant Abdul, but that monarch has good reason to know that threatened men live long, and he is accustomed to Collective Notes and circular despatches by this time. Moreover, he knows full well the weakness and imbecility of a Concert in which all the members suspect each other. He has only to delay and delay, and before long some of these Christian Powers will be flying at each other's throats.

There are signs that the water troubles in the East of London will not be without some good results. The breakdown in the supply has been so clearly traceable to inefficient management and culpable neglect on the part of the Company, that the cry for control of the water supply of London being placed in the hands of the County Council has been much strengthened. The Council reassembled the other day after its summer holiday, and immediately tackled the question. When Parliament comes together once more the Council will submit legislation on the subject. Now in the past the Government has taken up an attitude of smiling benevolence so far as the Water Companies are concerned, and one of bitter hostility to the London County Council. Some of the Government's supporters have never lost an opportunity of sneering at and denouncing the Council. But I imagine that they will find it prudent to conceal such feelings next session. The Tories have much to lose in the East of London, for somehow or other, chiefly by a display of what is called "philanthropy," they gained most of the seats in that part of the town at the last general election. The inhabitants are naturally maddened by the treatment they have received, being forced to pay full water rates in advance, and having received in return a dribble of undesirable water during but a few hours out of the twenty-four. It will not do for any member of Parliament, or any Government, to defend that sort of thing. And even as it is, even if the Government throws over the Company, it is likely to suffer for its friendship in the past. The two parts of England which have been most shamefully betrayed by the Government are the East of London, and the county of Lancashire—and in each verily the Government will have its reward.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, September 29.—Queen Louise of Denmark, mother of the Princess of Wales, the Dowager-Empress of Russia, and King George of Greece, died early this morning at Bernstorff. The Queen, who had been failing for some weeks, not from any specific disease, but from the exhaustion of old age, was unconscious during nearly the whole of Wednesday. Almost all the members of her family were around her at the time of her death. She had a few days ago completed her 81st year, and was the oldest reigning queen in Europe.

A Vienna correspondent said that politicians there, while recognising the strong position of Great Britain on the Nile, believed that France would, by dint of perseverance and judicious bluffing, secure advantages at Fashoda as she did on the Nile last June. They were convinced that in its dealings with European States the British Government was committed to a policy of peace at any price.

The *Times* correspondent at Candia said that Edhem Pasha, the chief culprit in the rising of the 6th inst., had slipped through our hands, having left Candia to-day for Smyrna.—Only 4,918 arms, including 1,517 Martinis, had yet been surrendered, and a domiciliary visitation would be necessary to ensure complete disarmament. To-day 800 bluejackets from the British warships landed and marched through Candia with colours flying and band playing. It was proposed to send the Turkish troops outside the town pending their definite withdrawal.

FRIDAY, September 30.—The *London Gazette* contained the Sirdar's despatch describing the later phases of the Sudan campaign and the battle of Khartoum, with the covering despatch of Lieutenant-General Sir F. Grenfell, commanding Her Majesty's forces in Egypt, who observed that "from the start of the campaign to its close at Omdurman operations have been conducted with a precision and completeness which have been beyond all praise, while the skill shown in the advance was equalled by the ability with which the army was commanded in the field." The Sirdar closed his narrative of the battle of Omdurman by stating that its result was "the practical annihilation of the Khalifa's army, the consequent extinction of Mahdism in the Sudan, and the submission of the whole country formerly ruled under Egyptian authority. This has reopened vast territories to the benefits of peace, civilisa-

tion and good government." Sir H. Kitchener said it would be impossible for any commander to have been more ably seconded than he was by the general officers serving under him, and he forwarded a long list of names of officers, non-commissioned officers, and men entitled to mention for good service.

A despatch from Constantinople said that the Collective Note to the Porte demanding the withdrawal within a given time of the Ottoman troops from Crete had not yet been approved by the four Powers, and it was understood that the Cabinets were deliberating on one or two minor points in the wording of the Note.

The terms of M. Sarrien's letter to the Procureur-Général were kept secret, but it was believed that, while mainly based on the discovery of Colonel Henry's forgery, it cited some accessory considerations. There was much speculation as to whether the Procureur's report would be in favour of revision or not. The question was whether the Cour de Cassation would take a narrow literal view of what constitutes a new fact, or would take cognisance of circumstances which had thrown a moral doubt on the judgment of 1894.

Saturday, October 1.—A Reuter despatch from Pekin stated that to-day during the celebration of a festival in Pekin, drunken crowds threw mud at some Europeans. The Russian Legation ordered an escort of Cossacks from Port Arthur, and Sir Claude MacDonald summoned a guard of marines from Wei-hai-wei. Reuter's Agency was informed that Sir C. MacDonald, in a telegram received at the Foreign Office, reported insults to and attacks on a member of the British Legation and a lady who was with him. Similar attacks were made on some American missionaries and on the Chinese secretary of the American Legation. Sir C. MacDonald stated that a dangerous feeling was abroad in Pekin.

From Paris it was stated that Captain Marchand's promotion to the rank of major would be gazetted on Monday. This was a kind of consecration of his official mission, and a sort of reply to the demand for withdrawal which had been, or might be, demanded by Great Britain.—A Reuter despatch from Paris said that the British and French Governments had decided to begin negotiations at once for the settlement of the Fashoda question, without waiting for the arrival of Captain Marchand's report.

The Collective Note of the four Powers calling on the Sultan to withdraw his troops and officials from Crete had not yet been presented to the Porte. A Reuter despatch from Constantinople said the Powers would refrain from taking action until after the visit of the Emperor William to Constantinople, which was fixed for October 17. The Rome correspondent of the *Times*, however, said the delay in the presentation of the Note was of little consequence, as it had resulted in greater stringency in the wording of the document. Russia insisted that it must have the character of an ultimatum to be accepted or rejected in its entirety by the Sultan, and there was no reason to doubt that the other three Powers would concur in this view. It was anticipated that before October 10 some positive result would be reached.

Monday, October 3.—Two American warships were ordered from Manila to the point nearest to Pekin which a vessel could approach. The "Baltimore" and "Petrel" were reported to have been despatched. The former could not go beyond the Ta-ku forts; the "Petrel" being of lighter draught might reach Tien-tsin. The American Minister at Pekin telegraphed to his Government that there was no serious danger yet, but considerable anxiety for the future. The foreign fleets were assembling at Tien-tsin, and some of the Ministers were ordering marines to Pekin to guard the Legations.—The *Cologne Gazette* had an article on the Chinese situation, in which the British Government and its representative were reproached for having interfered in the internal affairs of China."

A correspondent in Crete said that notice had been given to the international troops to hold themselves in readiness should disturbances arise on the notification to Djevad Pasha to withdraw the Turkish troops. Two more battalions of British troops, with a battery of artillery, were daily expected at Candia from Egypt.—A Reuter telegram from Constantinople said that the British, French, and Italian Ambassadors had received the approval of their Governments to the Collective Note to the Porte. The approval of Russia was momentarily expected.

The Paris *Temps* said that the French Government was anxious to communicate with Major Marchand by the quickest route, namely, the Nile, and he would probably, acting on orders transmitted by a British gunboat, send his report *via* Khartum and Cairo.

Tuesday, October 4.—A Reuter despatch from Pekin said that the decision of the Russian Legation to increase its escort was likely to have an injurious effect by keeping up the fiction that Pekin was in a state of great excitement. It necessarily obliged Sir C. MacDonald to make a corresponding increase in the British escort, and the German Minister had taken a similar step. Reuter's representative said that in a ride through the city he found a complete absence of excitement. The place where the Europeans were insulted on Saturday had been roped off, and eight of the offenders were confined inside wearing heavy wooden collars inscribed "Punished for assaulting Europeans." The Tsung-li-Yamên had made an ample apology for the affair, and several regiments of soldiers had been introduced to keep order. The Marquis Ito had left Pekin, and his mission was generally acknowledged to have been a failure.

The delay in the arrival of Russia's approval of the Collective Note to the Porte was attributed to the Tsar's being at Livadia and to Count Muravieff's absence abroad. The Russian Ambassador in Constantinople informed Tewfik Pasha last Saturday that the Powers were agreed as to the measures to be adopted for carrying out their plans. At Yildiz Kiosk a "sceptical feeling" prevailed as to the employment of coercive measures by the Powers.—From Crete it was stated that every day the culpable participation of the Turkish troops at Candia in the recent outbreak became more apparent; even officers took part in the pillage. The British authorities refused to accept the further co-operation of the Turks in the occupation of the town.

Wednesday, October 5.—The Collective Note of the four Powers demanding the withdrawal of the Ottoman troops from Crete was presented to the Porte this morning. A Reuter telegram from Paris said that the Note informed the Sultan that the Turkish troops must evacuate the island within a month from to-day, and that the evacuation must begin within the next fortnight at the latest.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

"CONFESSION IS GOOD FOR THE SOUL."

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—When a man of Lord Dufferin's acknowledged ability mentions to the shareholders of the London and Globe Finance Corporation that he is an amateur chemist and metallurgist, one is constrained to wonder why it is that all this knowledge was not applied to good account during the years that the noble marquis was Viceroy of India. Lord Dufferin has probably visited Delhi, where he must have seen the pillar made of forged iron which stands in the centre of the courtyard of the Kûtab Minâr. This iron pillar is 23 feet 8 inches long, and although its age is supposed to be more than fifteen hundred years it is still unrusted, the inscription on it being as clear and sharp as when made in the third or fourth century. These are facts which should have made our noble metallurgist enthusiastic about the future of India's iron industry. The railway contractor, however, is still using rails which were manufactured in Europe and America. This, after all, is a minor matter in comparison with the decline of agriculture in India, and Lord Dufferin's knowledge of chemistry might have been employed to advantage in providing a solution for the difficulty which is a stumbling-block to agricultural reform. But he left undone those things which he ought to have done, and devoted his attention to the useless province of Upper Burma, which he annexed—an ignoble proceeding for a man who "in early life had sat at the feet of Faraday and assiduously studied both chemistry and metallurgy."

Why is it that Indian administrators desert the broad principles of local government for meaner interests which bring them ribbons and titles? Rural India has not proved sufficiently attractive to the Anglo-Indian official. For example, this is how Mr. Keene writes in his last book of one of the most fertile districts in the world: "We found Azamgarh a truly penal settlement. Someone must, of course, go to such places as judge; but I did not think that it ought to have been selected as the place of banishment of an officer like myself." What possible interest can a man who writes in such a hopeless strain take in the welfare of the people of his district? A man of Mr. Keene's description becomes nothing more or less than an automatic machine; and the evils of red-tapeism are exemplified as follows by Sir William Sleeman in his interesting book on Oudh.

He was told by some Brahman cultivators that "nothing could be better than the administration of the Shahjahanpur district by the present collector and magistrate, Mr. Buller, whom all classes loved and respected." . . . "But the returns, are they equal to those from your lands in Oudh?"

"Nothing like it, sir; they are not half so good; nor can the cultivator pay half the rent that we pay when left to till our lands in peace."

"And why is this?"

"Because, sir, our land is sometimes left waste (barefallow) to recover its power, as you see all the land around you, while their's has no rest. . . ."

"And where would you rather live—there, protected as the people are from all violence; or here, exposed as you are to all manner of outrage and extortion?"

"We would rather live here, sir, if we could; and we are glad to come back. . . . Your courts of justice are the things that we most dread, sir, and we are glad to escape from them as soon as we can, in spite of all the evils we are exposed to on our return to the place of our birth."

The above is a most remarkable quotation, and it perhaps explains better than anything else the reason why the people of Oudh fought so stubbornly for freedom in the years 1857-58. The truth of the statements made by the Oudh Brahmans and recorded by Sir William Sleeman is to be found in the condition of the poverty-stricken peasants of British India at the present day, notwithstanding that their lands are very lightly assessed. And the reason for this poverty is not far to seek. Here is one reason which is taken from a letter in the *Pioneer Mail* of June 15, 1892:—

"In your issue of the 1st instant, General Fischer strikingly shows how India is designedly deprived of highly profitable canals, while she is systematically saddled with ruinously expensive railways. He misses his mark, however, in attributing this absurd policy to the blindness of the Indian Government instead of to the sharp-sightedness of the English capitalist in Parliament. Railway scrip, and particularly Indian railway scrip, has always been a favourite at the London Stock Exchange. The investor is shrewd enough to see that if money was laid out in canals, not only would there be less available for railways, but also the canals would compete with and lower the dividends of railways. Hence, India has to do without canals, however beneficial they may be."

All the above quotations are not taken from books and papers written by men who wielded pens hostile to the Government, they are therefore the more valuable. The utter failure on the part of England to reconcile the crofters of the Highlands and the peasants of Ireland to the ways of the false gods of Mammon and Commerce should have been a salutary warning to Anglo-Indian administrators in dealing with the rayats. But in placing the shoes of so-called progress on to the feet of the people the attempt has been made to make the feet fit the shoes instead of making the shoes to fit the feet. "Make this nation toil for us, bleed for us, hunger and sorrow and sin for us," is the maxim which guides the actions of Anglo-Indian administrators to this day. The moneyed Jew is master of the situation.

Yours, etc.

DONALD N. REID.

MR. W. A. CHAMBERS IN YORKSHIRE.

LIBERAL MEETING AT SHEPLEY.

We take the following report from the *Holmfirth Express*:—

On Thursday (Sept. 22), under the auspices of the Shepley Liberal Association, a public meeting was held at the Shepley New Connexion Schoolroom. The attendance was very satisfactory, and the audience followed the speakers with close attention and evident interest. The meeting had been called to hear an address on Indian affairs by Mr. W. A. Chambers, the editor of the *Bombay Champion*, who is on a holiday tour in the old country. In a speech of forty-five minutes' duration, Mr. Chambers put his views in a lucid and interesting manner, and doubtless he is rendering good service in educating people on matters vitally affecting the Indian Empire. Mr. Wilson, M.P., met with his usual cordial reception, and his remarks evidently found much favour with the audience. The local speakers also succeeded in rousing the enthusiasm of the audience. Mr. A. Booth, J.P., C.C., presided, and was supported by Messrs. H. J. Wilson, M.P. for the Holmfirth Division; J. P. Hinchliffe, C.C., and Jas. Hinchliffe, of Netherthong.

The Chairman moved: "That this meeting desires to express its strong dissatisfaction with both the home and foreign policy of Lord Salisbury's Government," and in a brief speech criticised recent legislation.

Mr. J. P. Hinchliffe, C.C., in a logical and lucid speech, seconded the resolution, and contrasted the policy of the Government with the principles of Liberalism in a manner that held the attention of the audience.

Mr. Chambers met with a cordial reception on rising to support the resolution. He said when Mr. Wilson invited him to the meeting, he was only too glad to avail himself of the opportunity, for by returning Mr. Wilson to Parliament they had done their duty. He should like to talk to them of India. (Hear, hear.) He had been asked to support a resolution condemning Lord Salisbury's home and foreign policy. Frankly he looked upon those matters—having been absent from this country for a number of years—as an outsider, and in condemning Lord Salisbury's policy, they would please understand he must direct the whole of his attention to that part of the policy which concerned the country in which he lived. Lord Salisbury was perhaps not so much to blame in regard to the policy in India as the gentleman who, unfortunately for the peace of India, was now Secretary of State for India—the Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton. He (the speaker) had longed for an opportunity—longed as much as a man possibly could long for anything—to get before an audience of thorough English Radicals, to tell them of the mischief that man (Lord George Hamilton) was working, and the evil he had wrought in India. If there was any person who had brought the name of Englishmen into disrepute, who had caused the English administration in India to stink in the nostrils of the people of that country, that man was Lord George Hamilton. He was a man absolutely detested from one end of India to the other. That was a very serious statement to make, and he wanted them to understand why Lord George Hamilton was detested. He was detested because he had carried on a policy of repression and retrogression. He had taken advantage of a very, very serious calamity that had overtaken India to prompt an Act (passed into law by the Viceroy's Council) that would practically result in freedom of speech and freedom of writing being suppressed in India. Lord George Hamilton had taken advantage of the dreadful plague, and that miserable, unfortunate, and wretched assassination in Poona, to initiate a campaign, and to pass an Act that would practically shut the mouth of political advocates in India. In addition to that Act of retrogression, Lord George Hamilton had gone out of his way on every possible occasion to hold up to contempt the product of English rule, the educated Hindu, and had done his best to promote a feeling of dislike in this country towards that individual. Mr. Chambers wanted to explain certain circumstances which had occurred in India, and which had resulted in Lord George Hamilton having the opportunity of passing such an Act as he had just referred to. Lord George Hamilton, in the House of Commons, and in despatches and public speeches, had referred to the need there was for the passing of an Act which would curb the writings of, as he termed it, the seditious Press of India. He had long waited for an opportunity to pass an Act. That opportunity, until quite recently, never offered itself, but two years ago, there occurred possibly the greatest calamity that ever happened to modern India. A plague broke out in Bombay. The plague spread over the city and ultimately reached Poona. The plague caused a number of deaths, and certain regulations were drawn up to combat it. They were very drastic regulations. A person infected with the plague had to be taken from his house to the hospital and treated there. Now none of those present might under similar circumstances object to go to a hospital. But a Hindu was different, and they would quite understand that in a crowded hospital, in a hospital full of plague-infected people, the ceremonies to which the Hindu attached great value could not be performed. It would therefore be obvious to them that the promulgation of such a rule or regulation that persons infected with the plague should be carried to the hospital, would cause great disfavour, fear, and possibly public disturbance. As a matter of fact, those regulations did cause great public disturbances. What happened in Bombay happened also in Poona. Poona, however, unlike Bombay, had earned the reputation for—Radicalism they would call it in England—what Lord George Hamilton called "sedition." The Poona criticism of the plague administration and regulations was put down to a wanton desire to make complaint against the Government. It was looked upon by Lord George Hamilton as an indication of a turbulent nature and spirit of agitation. However, nothing very much happened until the night of the Jubilee, when there was a great entertainment held at the Government House. As Mr. Rand, the plague administrator of Poona, was leaving Government House to return to his own bungalow, he was murdered on the high road. In addition to the murder of Mr. Rand, a young lieutenant, Mr. Ayerst, was killed. The official party in India (prompted and advised by Lord George Hamilton) jumped to the conclusion that since Poona was a hot-bed of agitation—what would be termed in England a Radical city—therefore these murders were the work of the "sedition-mongers" and agitators. This gave the opportunity to Lord George Hamilton to pass oppressive Press laws in India. The assassinations led to the most repressive legislation it was possible to imagine. As things had turned out, it had been proved beyond the slightest doubt that the agitators of Poona—the dreadful Brahmin who was going to overturn the English rule—had absolutely nothing to do with the murders. Although that had been proved, the murders had served Lord George Hamilton's purpose, he had passed his repressive laws. Reuter and other newsagents gave accounts of the murders, and the audience would remember they were told that the Brahmin was at the bottom of it. It was said by the papers that on the night of the assassination Poona was in a state of nervous agitation, and it seemed as if a dark cloud was hanging over the city, and all the rest of the balderdash that newspaper reporters know how to use when writing sensational articles. These foolish and wicked stories were sent to England, and they were believed. What else could they do but believe them? They did not fathom the wickedness of men who were fighting for a monopoly. A previous speaker had observed that the Liberal party were opposed to monopoly. Being opposed to monopoly they could understand the bitterness of those who were fighting for monopoly, and were afraid of losing that monopoly. The Indian officials were monopolists. They held certain monopolies, and when they saw a keen critic—such as the Brahmin was—naturally they were angry, and they took advantage of every opportunity to place those Brahmins in a bad light. The motive was to poison the British mind in order that they might discount the Natives' story, and most Englishmen believed, he (Mr. Chambers) was afraid, that the Poona Brahmins were responsible for the deaths, if they were not the actual assassins of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. The people of India did everything that was possible to convince England that those things were not true, but the bad impression remained. The police discovered that the murderer was Damodar Chapekar and his brother. He could not speak English, and had never been to an English school. The man was as much an educated Hindu as he (the speaker) was a member of an African tribe. The *Times* newspaper—a paper which had done so much harm—was responsible for the statement that the man was an advocate of the law courts, and therefore an educated Hindu. How did that lie arise? If it were not serious and terrible, it would be comical. The paper which first discovered who was the assassin was the *Advocate of India*, an evening newspaper of Bombay. The man who wired the news to the *Times* that the assassin was discovered thought the story so sensational that he gave as his authority the *Advocate of India*. When the smart sub-editor of the *Times* got the wire (he had never heard of such a newspaper as the *Advocate of India*) he actually altered the telegram to the effect that an advocate of law was the murderer. He remembered when those newspapers reached India, men asked, "What can we do against lies like this?" When the murders occurred, Lord Sandhurst—be it said to his shame—imposed upon Poona what is called in India a punitive force—a body of policemen and soldiers quartered on a town proved to be turbulent and dangerous to the public peace. No one had any objection to a punitive force when sent to wild turbulent hillmen—it was necessary at times; but no one ever heard of a punitive force being imposed on a city like Poona—a city of civilised men. It was

said that Poona must pay for that punitive force; but in the Governor's Council at Bombay Lord Sandhurst had now admitted (but it had not been made clear to the English people) that the expense of the punitive force was to be lifted off the Poona people—practically admitting that the whole thing was a mistake. Mr. Chambers then detailed the circumstances under which Lord Sandhurst had imprisoned two unfortunate Brahmin brothers, the Natus. The Natus had criticised details of the plague regulations, and Lord George Hamilton told the House of Commons that the arrest of those brothers would mean the unravelling of the murders. The men were put into prison without trial, treated as common felons, not allowed to see their friends; no newspapers but English ones were given them, and they were not allowed legal advice. All these things were now admitted to be a mistake. But what was the result?—the Press laws of India. The Indian people had a grievance against the Front Bench Liberals, and they did not particularly love them in India. They thought those Liberal leaders wanted a little more courage—a little moral back-bone, and the Liberals might render help by bringing pressure on such men as Harcourt, Morley, Asquith, and Fowler, and then the next Liberal Cabinet would pay a little more attention to India. Mr. Chambers did not wish to censure the official class, nor did he wish the audience to think they were dishonest. He only wanted them to remember they were very much like themselves—and needed watching. (Laughter.) And he suggested that men should be returned to the House of Commons who would watch them. Through that dreadful occurrence at Poona, the officials had got a Press law, and the Indian public wanted it repealed. According to that law a newspaper editor could be classed with rogues and vagabonds. A magistrate could send for any person whom he termed "seditious," and bind him over to keep the peace for twelve months, without a trial. That state of things ought not to exist in a country ruled by England. Just now a number of Press committees had been established in India. Such a committee had power, if they saw fit, to send for an editor, and ask him to explain certain things in his paper. If a satisfactory explanation was not given, the new Press law might be put in operation against him. He, Mr. Chambers, had not a vote, but they had, and they were responsible in these matters. He wished them to realise their position. Proceeding to deal with another matter, he said they had been told many times that the stories told about English soldiers in India were exaggerated. He was not going to endorse everything said about the English soldier. He had sufficient patriotism to recognise in the English soldier a fellow countryman. He wanted them, however, to watch carefully the English soldiers in India. Mr. Chambers gave three instances of Natives murdered by English soldiers, and in two of them the soldiers escaped without any punishment whatever. The accused in each case were tried by European juries, and in the one case punished the prisoners escaped with seven years' penal servitude. He urged them to take a deeper interest in the country for the government of which they were responsible, and if that meeting resulted in their doing that, he (the speaker) had not wasted his time and they had not wasted theirs. (Applause.)

The resolution was put and carried.

Mr. Jas. Hinchliffe, in a capable speech, moved a vote of unabated confidence in Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P. for the division.

Mr. Goldthorpe seconded the resolution, and it was agreed to with enthusiasm.

Mr. Wilson, in his reply, gave strong support to most, if not all, the arguments used by Mr. Chambers, and gave interesting reminiscences of his travels in India.

Mr. Exley, in a pointed and humorous speech, moved a resolution heartily concurring in the Tsar's peace proposals, and Mr. Bray seconded the resolution.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the speakers, for whom Mr. Chambers replied.

The Chairman was thanked for presiding.

DR. FAIRBAIRN'S VISIT TO INDIA.

INTERESTING SPEECHES.

Dr. Fairbairn, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, who is shortly proceeding to India as Haskell Lecturer was entertained at dinner at the Holborn Restaurant, on Tuesday evening, when there was a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen from different parts of the country. Mr. J. Bryce, M.P., presided, and those present included Dr. Fairbairn, Mrs. Fairbairn, and Miss Helen Fairbairn, Sir William Hunter, Sir W. H. Wills, M.P., Mr. J. Carvell Williams, M.P., Mr. J. H. Yoxall, M.P., Mr. A. Spicer, M.P., Sir T. Wemyss Reid, the Rev. Canon Sanday, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Oswald Dykes, Dr. John Watson ("Ian Maclaren"), Dr. J. Fairbairn, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll, Dr. J. D. M'Clure, Professor J. Massie, Mr. Norman H. Smith, and Mr. W. Crosfield.

The Chairman (Mr. James Bryce), in the course of his speech proposing the toast of "Dr. Fairbairn and his mission to India," said: Dr. Fairbairn was now going out to India to give a course of lectures on the foundation of Miss Haskell, a lady of Chicago, who, being greatly struck with the large field for study and thought and discussion which a comparison of the different religions of the world offered, and also being struck by the opportunity which presented itself in their age of bringing the essential truths, the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, before the minds of those who had been brought up in other religions, in a larger and more philosophical way than perhaps they had ever been presented before, founded a lectureship to provide distinguished men, students of theology, and students of various forms of faith, to discuss various forms of faith, show the points in which they agreed and in which they differed, and to enable those who followed each the better to understand the tenets of the other. That, he thought, they would consider was a happy and fertile idea, for which great credit was due to the benevolent and munificent lady who determined to carry it out. (Hear, hear.) In the present year her trustees had invited Dr. Fairbairn to go as lecturer, and to deliver a course of lectures in the three great cities of India. Those of them who knew anything of India knew that India was perhaps of all the non-Christian parts of the world that in which lectures of this kind might best be given, and in which the study of comparative religion might be pursued, because in India they had two—he might almost say three—very famous, powerful, and ancient faiths living side by side, contending with one another, with long traditions behind them, highly cultivated by great numbers of able and thoughtful men, and put upon their mettle, so to speak, by the advent of Christianity to endeavour to renew and develop themselves. At this moment, too, India was in a condition which made such an enterprise as their friend was about to enter upon specially interesting and suggestive. India was in a state of transition such as they had never seen before. The breaking down of the ancient faiths, the weakening of caste, the opening and illumination of the minds of all the more intelligent part of the Hindu, and of a certain part of the Mahometan population, were having a very important effect on the country. The belief in the old faiths as rules of conduct, and as a basis of ethics, was very rapidly disappearing. But they were confronted in India with the danger, which in some ways was the greatest danger that could ever happen to any people, of destroying the old faiths and get nothing in return. (Hear, hear.) It was impossible to preserve the old faiths, and before very long they would practically have disappeared as rulers of the mind and guides of conduct. In that state of things they as a governing people, and still more as a Christian people, were doubly bound to endeavour to fill the void which they themselves had created. (Applause.) Therefore this was the time, if ever there was a time, at which it became specially necessary for the leaders of Western thought, and especially those who had studied religion and had discerned what was essential and vital in the religion professed, should go to India, should study the phenomenon which presented itself, should enter into the feelings of the people, should understand the position in which they were left by the decay and dissolution of their ancient faiths, and should endeavour to tell them what ought to be done to fill that void, and themselves endeavour to present the doctrines of Christianity in their highest and most real aspect. (Applause.) That was the work which the lecturer, who went out under the auspices of this foundation, would have to do, and he thought they would feel that in that lofty, difficult, but noble undertaking no man was fitter for the work than their friend Dr. Fairbairn. (Loud applause.) He was prepared for it by lifelong, minute, careful, and thoughtful study of the history and doctrines of Christianity, and he was prepared for it also by a large liberality of mind, which could understand what was good in other systems, which could understand the difficulties which they might see in Christianity as it was commonly presented to them, and which could understand how Christianity in its life and truth and essence could best be presented to them. (Applause.) He would venture to say, on behalf of the company, that they wished Dr. Fairbairn not only an interesting journey to India, which it was sure to be, but also one which would be instructive and helpful to himself, profitable to India, and profitable to the world. (Applause.)

Dr. Fairbairn, in the course of his speech in reply, said that there was a time when he would have faced this visit to India perhaps, with no more courage than it was faced to-day, but with more pleasure. It could have been faced with a feeling that was not wedded to responsibility in the same measure, and also with the feeling that visitors would come, and that profit would have been gained past one's own expecting. It was a different thing going with duty to do from going with simply pleasure to enjoy. It was the old tale of one's first interest in comparative religion. The old eternal problem of "What is God?" "Whence came faith in Him?" "Why do I believe in Him?" haunted him in old days in waking and in sleeping. Many a long hour was spent in trying to find reasons for faith that was hard to stand, but while long search found frail reason, often there rose at one moment a wondrous vision of man in all his generations, and in all his religion, building his altar, formulating his belief, seeking after God, that haply he might find Him. And that gave such a new sense of meaning to the old word "God" and to the old word "religion," that there grew a nobler inspiration, which had come back to him during this past month. Religion, in a sense, was but an incident in the life of their people. They loved to explore; they loved commerce and conquest. They loved literature; they had many loves, and religion was but one. The Hindu people dwelt in their own land, a mixed multitude, but their supreme consideration was religion. It filled them, it possessed them in a way which our own could not be said to possess us, and to take the religion that was, as he said, an incident in their English life to them seemed about as venturous an enterprise as could well be handed over to mortal man. They should, too, feel how very necessary it was that they should understand the Hindu, and that the Hindu should understand them. It was not a very great thing for a man to be a student of comparative religion in England, and to interpret in England the Hindu mind. They would never suspect anyone of trying to make Hindus of them, and they would therefore make the necessary deductions from his presentation of the faith of that land. When they went to such a people as the Hindus, and had to speak to them, they were not simply students of comparative religion. They were to talk to the inmost feelings and convictions of their minds to a race whose convictions were not theirs. Then consider what they needed. They had two great representatives of the Christian religion. They had the representatives of the English power—the Civil servant and the soldier. It was very difficult for the religion of peace to be carried out by a people of dominion. (Hear, hear.) It was a very difficult thing for the people who were ruled to receive the religion of the rulers as a religion of peace, of simplicity, of humility. (Hear, hear.) They regarded that religion as bound up with the Empire—its armies and its magistrates—and Christianity would have a far

better chance in India if it had come in its own right to speak in its own name, in absolute dissociation from the Imperial power. (Applause.) Look, then, at the limitations which surrounded the missionary who presented the other power. He could not get at the people, and the people could in hardly any sense get at him. They talked of Hinduism as if it were a unit; it was an infinite multitude. It was a great social system, and that social system bound it all together and displayed the only unity it had. The caste was a marvellous thing. It had stood through centuries. Alexander and his Greeks saw it; Islam and his conquerers saw it; Portuguese and French saw it, and the Englishman found it to-day as strong as ever. Could they set a harder task than to break through it? All change in India, as elsewhere, must come through the mind, and however slow the change might be, it was still a change to be worked from the mind outward, and not simply from circumstances inward. There was nothing England needed so much to know as the peoples she governed. (Hear, hear.) They would never know the Indian problem until they knew the Indian mind, and therefore to interpret India to England was even a greater necessity than to interpret England to India. They needed to know something of the inmost life and heart of the people before they were able to know how to rule them. But he travelled far from the subject of that night's meeting. He ended as he began, and said that pleasure he could not experience, because of the responsibility involved. Their responsibility in India was not ended when a famine had been averted or when a plague had been stayed. It could only be fulfilled when the order that was being dissolved was replaced by an order fuller of all high promise, freedom, and large faith. He would feel as he passed over India to speak even these few lectures that unless the best that was within him was said and the best that was possible to him was done, it would never be right for him to again come among his own people and be met by their friendship and their love. (Applause.)

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL BILL.

If the Mackenzie Bill be carried, local self-government in Calcutta will be like snakes in Iceland—there will be no such thing. The privilege of managing their own local affairs was conferred, in a limited fashion, upon the people of Calcutta in 1876; after a dozen years' trial, the administration was reviewed by the Government, and in 1888 the powers of the Commissioners were extended somewhat, and the suburbs were brought under their control. As late as 1893, Sir Antony MacDonnell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, declared officially that the Commissioners "have displayed a care and attention to their duties which is very meritorious, and has in some cases risen to the level of devotion." The local government of Calcutta, in fact, was, and is on the whole, a proper example to every other municipality in the country. As the constitution of the municipality now stands, only two-thirds of the Commissioners are elected by the ratepayers, and the chairman is a Government official nominated by the Government. The Mackenzie Bill proposes to reduce the popular voice to one-third, a reduction that renders unnecessary any statement of the increased arbitrary control of the non-elected two-thirds. It means the practical extinction of the popular system which has been working with confessedly admirable results for more than twenty years. Now, why? The idea arose about 1895, when there was an unusually high death-rate, chiefly from fever, which was attributed by the health officer to bad drains and insanitary dwellings. The chairman of the Commissioners replied by directing attention to the fact that there had been a corresponding rise in the death-rate from fever in other parts of Bengal; which showed plainly that the cause must have been, in considerable part at least, of a more general character, and not peculiar to Calcutta. But, in any case, assuming slackness of duty on the part of the Municipal Commissioners—although all the evidence is in their favour—the existing Act gives the Government power to take them to task, and, if they prove incorrigible, to step in and do the work. Such was the procedure contemplated, and enacted. But the Government has not chosen to follow that procedure. The precious Bill makes a clean sweep, and puts the municipality into the hands of men in whose election the ratepayers have so little voice that it can be called only nominal. Here is retrograde legislation with a vengeance. The people of Calcutta are petitioning and holding indignant ward meetings, and the Native Press entreat Sir John Woodburn to veto the Bill in painfully precatory terms, as if he were their earthly Providence. Even the writer on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* displays uneasiness over the business, and indirectly, though not ostensibly, advances a strong argument against the promoters of the Mackenzie Bill. He most properly points out that the crisis was "unexpected and onerous," that the difficulties of the situation were "exceptional," that an unreasonable test was applied under the "alarms" incidental to the year of plague, and that still the local authorities "have emerged with a fair degree of credit from the trial." True, he is speaking of municipal institutions generally in India, but the facts fully support the application of his argument to the particular case of Calcutta. As to the question of local government by means of el[illegible]tion or nomination, that, he affirms, is "a vital one in Ind[illegible]s at the root of the whole scheme of British rule g[illegible]ly to train the people in the work of local [illegible]w on earth can the Government ever reach its proposed object if it will not let the people try—if it will not let them go on trying even after an approved trial of twenty years? The reduction of popular control in Calcutta will be followed by similar reductions elsewhere in India. The danger ought to have interest for Londoners at least, who were so recently threatened by Lord Salisbury. In provincial municipalities, we scarcely hope that the ratepayers will believe the story we have told, for it is the acme of political futility and folly.—*The New Age.*

ET CAETERA.

It is announced that Lord Curzon of Kedleston will be entertained by the Royal Societies Club at a banquet to be given in his honour on November 7.

Mr. Raymond Greene, M.P., left London on Wednesday for Bombay. He intends to spend some months in India.

The P. and O. s.s. "Palawan," from Calcutta, arrived in London on October 3. She carried, among other passengers, the following:—Miss Nablage, Mr. F. Serai, Surgeon H. E. Huskinson, Mr. D. S. Craik, Mr. F. W. Packham, Mrs. F. S. Wilde, Mr. A. McPherson, Mr. P. Chatteyn, Mr. C. N. Burnard, and Mr. C. A. Nelson.

The s.s. "Carthage" (P. and O.) leaves London for Bombay on October 21. Her list of passengers includes the following names: Captain P. J. and Miss Melvill, Mr. J. Karpeles, Mr. Jules Karpeles, Major and Mrs. Maconchey and infant, Captain J. C. A. Watson, General and Miss Preagh.

The P. and O. s.s. "Palawan" leaves London for Calcutta on October 21. The following names are on her list of passengers: Major and Mrs. Passong, Mr. Freshwater, Mr. T. A. Muirhead, Mr. R. W. Pilkington, Mr. J. Hickinbotham, Rev. F. B. Maule, Rev. W. J. Hanan, Mr. Featherstonhaugh, Mr. Scott and son, and Mr. S. Surgh.

The British India Steam Navigation Company's s.s. "Matiana" leaves London for Madras and Calcutta on October 14. The passenger list includes the names of Mr. E. Duckworth (for Madras), and Mr. H. Olivant, Mr. J. Thompson, Mr. W. M. Munro, and Miss Wendle (for Calcutta).

The Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Clinton Edward Dawkins to be a member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, in succession to Sir James Westland, K.C.S.I., whose tenure of the appointment will expire in March, 1899. Mr. Dawkins was at one time private secretary to Mr. Goschen—a post in which he succeeded Sir Alfred Milner. When Sir Alfred left Egypt, Mr. Dawkins succeeded him there also, as Under-Secretary for Finance. Mr. Dawkins was a contemporary at Balliol of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the Viceroy Elect.

The appointment of Mr. Dawkins to be Finance Minister in India, is (the *Daily News* says) like the appointment of Lord Curzon to be Viceroy, a very interesting experiment. They were contemporaries at Oxford, and according to the standard in these days they are both young men, for both are in the prime of life. The appointment of an Under-Secretary to the Viceroyalty is somewhat of a new departure; and so also the appointment of a Finance Minister except from the Indian Civil Service is a bold break from tradition, the only other instance of the kind being the nomination of Mr. James Wilson to deal with the financial crisis that followed the Mutiny. It is only fair that India, having given Lord Cromer to Egypt, should in return receive a financier from Cairo. Mr. Dawkins has had varied experience and an excellent training for the responsible post to which he is now called. He began his official life in the India Office, where he served successively in the revenue department and in the political department. In 1886 he was appointed assistant private secretary and précis writer to the Secretary of State. Three years later he became private secretary to Mr. Goschen, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Subsequently he undertook an important financial mission to Peru, and when Sir Alfred Milner was appointed to the Inland Revenue Mr. Dawkins took his place in the Egyptian Finance Department. He has served under Sir Edwin Palmer, Financial Adviser to the Khedive, with marked ability, and his experience in Egypt ought in a general way to be a good training for India, for the conditions of the two countries are not unlike. Mr. Dawkins has not committed himself, any more than Lord Curzon, to the expression of any definite views on the currency question. Both, therefore, will be in a position to apply to that grave question the policy of the Open Mind.

We have already referred (says the *Pioneer*) to the issue of a new edition of the "General Acts" of the Governor-General in Council, and some further particulars may now be given of the course adopted by the Legislative Department. The first volume contains the unrepealed Acts from 1834 to 1867, and it will be followed in quick succession by five more. The second volume will deal with the legislative period, 1868-1876; the third, 1877-1881; the fourth, 1882-1884; the fifth, 1885-1890; and the sixth, 1891 up to date. The necessity for this new edition cannot be denied, for the last was issued in 1889, and included the Acts from 1834 to 1888. Since 1888 as many as 167 Acts have been passed into law by the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and most of these have either repealed and replaced, or textually amended the earlier Acts.

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